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Thesis

THE EMPLOYMENT OF MARRIED WOMEN OUTSIDE THE HOME

Submitted by

Margaret Roberts

(B.S. in Ed., Boston University, 1925)

In partial fulfillment of requirements for the
degree of Master of Education

1933

First Reader: Franklin C. Roberts, Assistant Professor of Education
Second Reader: Cheney C. Jones, Director, New England Home for Little Wanderers.

GRADUATE SCHOOL

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
BOSTON UNIVERSITY

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The Author, Margaret Roberts, is hereby acknowledged for the permission to use the material in this thesis for the purpose of the present study.

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Such a wide divergence in the type of article written about the working of married women indicates both a general and a specialized interest in this problem. That there does exist such an interest, as well as perplexity as to the advisability of this procedure, is evident not only from the large amount of written material but also from the frequency of discussion of the subject in all walks of life. It is a very real problem facing the individual and society which must be met today.

Statement of the Problem

The problem involved divides itself into the following subdivisions:

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THE EMPLOYMENT OF MARRIED WOMEN OUTSIDE THE HOME

CHAPTER I

Introduction

Reason for Choice of Topic

In picking up almost any magazine dealing with the home, the family, or with other current social problems the question of the employment of married women outside the home is frequently dealt with in articles, popular in style, yet based on actual social experience. The number of such articles published in the last ten or more years is surprising. In addition to this popular periodical literature the subject is considered, briefly or more extensively, in numerous studies of women, marriage, and the family, as well as in text-books of sociology.

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The problem involved divides itself into the following considerations.

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Statement of the Problem

The problem involved divides itself into the following

considerations.

1. Extent of the employment of married women outside the home, with underlying motives, types of employment, and pertinent factors in the present family situation.
2. Effect of this procedure upon the family as a group and as individuals, and hence upon the present and future social order.

Method of Study

This paper is an attempt to present the various angles of the question in an impartial manner, and to draw such conclusions as may be forthcoming, although these must necessarily be based upon personal opinion to some extent. Both popular and scientific findings will be studied and quoted in proof of statements made, with the realization that the latter have more value than the former, which do, however, indicate currents of thought and feeling about this pressing matter. Because of the impossibility of making contacts with a sufficiently large number of working women to show definite trends, no actual survey has been made, but existing studies of larger groups have been relied upon for such information. In addition a few representative case studies have been made and included to illustrate phases of the problem.

In considering these questions the above-mentioned types of articles have been studied, which are to be found in popular, educational, and sociological magazines, in government bulletins, in books, and in scientific studies.

1. Extent of the employment of married women outside the home, with underlying motives, types of employment, and part-time factors in the present family situation.
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Delimitation

For purposes of delimitation the literature studied deals largely with the American urban situation, and, in order to present current views and practices, the material covers, in the main, printed matter of the last decade. The picture portrayed is, therefore, of modern American urban culture as it affects family life, particularly in regard to woman's place in the home. Such a picture is more clear-cut in its outlines in our newer culture pattern than it is in the older European countries, where change has been less breathtakingly rapid, and the patriarchal family still exists to a greater extent.

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CHAPTER II

Historical Survey of Woman's Place in SocietyDivision of Labor

Male dominance and female subordination seem to be the key-note of the functioning of human institutions. In primitive society women were the property of men, with no legal rights. Before marriage the father controlled his daughters in every respect, including oftentimes marriage by purchase; after marriage the husband had sole rights to his wife's person and services, as if she were a domestic animal. This service, in the hunting stage, included all the necessary simple domestic duties, the preparation of game for eating, the collection of small animal and vegetable food, and the manufacture of utensils.¹

Woman was not only despised by man in general, but she was also feared, as being somehow associated with mystical powers or magic. Therefore, although her work was interesting and productive, she was hedged about with superstitious restraints and dread.²

Gradually the division of labor became more and more unfair, the heaviest burden falling upon the woman. Of course too sweeping a statement cannot be made for all primitive society, but, with the exception of the well-known matriarchal societies, which preceded the patriarchal ones, the position of women has been inferior throughout the ages. Briffault says that in by

1. Bushee, F.A., "Principles of Sociology", p. 258.

2. Langdon-Davies, J., "A Short History of Women", p. 86-87.

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far the largest number of human societies in history man established his right over woman by purchase, a practice amounting to slavery, but not considered in that light by the people indulging in it, as the practice was far older than slavery itself.³ This wife-purchase transaction continued for hundreds of years, for as late as the eighteenth century women were led to the market place by a rope, to be sold there like cattle. Small wonder that they were degraded and coerced by man, the superior being!

Economic Basis for Man's Dominance

Masculine dominance appears to rest largely upon economic grounds. As civilization advanced woman's sphere became less important and more degraded. Whereas even today in primitive-culture groups women are important as producers in agriculture, industrial arts, and trade, the importance of woman's contribution to the home in civilized life is less easily measured and therefore oftentimes less readily valued at its true worth.

Woman is still producing in the home, although not of goods for exchange, but rather in the preparation of materials for immediate consumption such as, for example, the cooking of food to be eaten. The same food, not prepared, has less value than it has when ready to eat. We recognize this truth when we pay more in a restaurant for a meal than we do for the same foods in the market. A clean, well-kept home has greater actual value than has an empty house. But too often the services of the wife as a producer are not recognized now that the goods she produces are

3. Schmalhausen, S. D. and Calverton, V. F., "Woman's Coming of Age", p. 8.

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largely intangible. Even with much help from labor-saving devices there still remains an irreducible minimum of daily housework, which should be properly planned and considered as of economic and social worth, more especially for its spiritual values because of the atmosphere of peace and satisfaction created thereby.

Biological and Social Basis for Man's Power

It has frequently been pointed out that the restriction of woman's activities is due to sex. That this is incorrect, in the main, is shown by the varied functions of woman in primitive society, where she may even be a hunter and a fighter.⁴ Probably one of the most important factors giving man power over woman was the right of the husband to remove the woman to a home of his choosing, where he could control the social practices and reign supreme. Man thus dominated woman's mind as well as her body, so that numerous pernicious and foolish prejudices have been passed down from generation to generation as part of the social heritage. The result of this infiltration of patriarchal principles has been that women have accepted their inferior position without question. Political and social inequality have long been nourished by men, through the agency of the church and the state, as essential to social stability. In fact even today some wives tacitly acknowledge their belief in this idea by their behavior.

"I had thought it over and made up my mind to accept the presidency of the Home Club," said one woman recently, "but

4. Ibid, p. 17.

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my husband says I'm not equal to it, so I must refuse." Although this capable woman probably feels that she really is equal to the task, she agrees with her husband's dictum that she is socially unequal, instead of accepting the challenge offered to her.

Woman's eventual economic independence was more important than her political enfranchisement as being proof of her ability to stand on her own feet. Once she found out that she could earn money outside the home, her self-respect naturally increased. Needless to say, her political recognition was of great importance, too, but the mass of women seem to have attached less meaning to this political opportunity than to their economic independence which brought greater control of spending into their hands.

Woman's Place in the Home

That woman's place was in the home became a firmly entrenched belief fostered by the need for her domestic services up to the time of the Industrial Revolution. In medieval Europe woman "was a domestic drudge but not without great economic functions in the household because of her proficiency in cookery, gardening, care of poultry, dairying, distilling, curing of meat, care of wool and flax, and rearing of children."⁵ Although her contribution to the family economy was great, she was held in contempt because of her economic dependence upon man---" the patriarchal sway engulfed women and children in a position of utter domestic

5. Miller, N., "The European Heritage of the American Family", *Annals of the American Academy of Political Science*, Mar. 32, p. 1.

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servitude and anonymous drudgery."⁶

The Renaissance and Reformation Movements

While the Renaissance movement helped to raise the position of certain women, it did not affect the ordinary housewife. The Reformation started the more rapid transition of the institutionalized family, especially in the bourgeois class. The rise of commercialism was a big factor in the changed family folkways and mores, particularly as they were transplanted in America.

The Industrial Revolution

According to Arthur C. Calhoun, the well-known sociologist who has made a careful study of American family life from the 17th through the 19th centuries, early American colonial life shows great solidarity in the patriarchal type of family, with women bearing the heaviest burdens in the home, yet subordinate in status. Following the Industrial Revolution there came the sudden widespread swing from a pioneer frontier life to an urbanized industrial culture with a corresponding rise of luxury and parasitism among the privileged classes, together with poverty and factory labor among the less fortunate groups.⁷

The Nineteenth Century

During the nineteenth century there was a rapid spread of democratic ideas, political and social, which left its imprint

6. Ibid, p. 2

7. Calhoun, A.W., "A Social History of the American Family", Vol. I

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The Nineteenth Century

During the nineteenth century there was a rapid spread of democratic ideas, political and social, which left its imprint

on the family. This, with the rapid development of a new industrial order, the pioneer movement to the West, and the decline of religious influence, tended to break down unified family life. There began to exist a new independence among girls in factory towns which later "resulted in subsequent freeing of all married women from legal and proprietary disabilities laid upon them by the domestic codes of the Middle Ages."⁸ Wives however still possessed no legal personality, and so were in the same category as children. Their personal property became the husband's at marriage to dispose of as he saw fit. This condition lasted for more than two-thirds of the nineteenth century. Women were immured in the patriarchal home, although girls had an unusual degree of freedom in America before marriage.

The Woman's Rights movement, with Lucy Stone as one of its pioneer leaders, did much during the latter part of this century to bring to light the injustice of the prevailing laws and the need for revision. This movement gained impetus with the spread of higher education for women, but even by 1892 the husband still controlled the wife's property and person, including the absolute right to her labor. She was not thought of, in general, as an individual with the right to her own separate existence, although recognition of this principle was made by more advanced and thoughtful men individually. Nineteenth century individualism brought to the front the question of personal freedom versus personal responsibilities and parental duties.

8. Goodsell, W., "The American Family in the 19th Century." *Annals of the American Academy*, March 1932, p. 14.

on the family. This, with the rapid development of a new industrial order, the pioneer movement to the West, and the decline of religious influence, tended to break down settled family life. There began to exist a new independence among girls in factory towns which later resulted in subsequent freeing of all married women from legal and proprietary disabilities laid upon them by the domestic codes of the Middle Ages.⁸ Wives however still possessed no legal personality, and so were in the same category as children. Their personal property became the husband's at marriage to dispose of as he saw fit. This condition lasted for more than two-thirds of the nineteenth century. Women were limited in the paternal home, although girls had an unusual degree of freedom in America before marriage. The woman's rights movement, with Lucy Stone as one of its pioneer leaders, did much during the latter part of this century to bring to light the injustice of the prevailing laws and the need for revision. This movement gained impetus with the spread of higher education for women, but even by 1802 the husband still controlled the wife's property and person, including the absolute right to her labor. She was not thought of, in general, as an individual with the right to her own separate existence, although recognition of this principle was made by more advanced and thoughtful men individually. Nineteenth century individualism brought to the front the question of personal freedom versus personal responsibilities and parental duties.

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Urbanization and the Machine Age

Urbanization changed the complexion of American culture to a great extent. From a rural population--only about 16% urban at the opening of the Civil War---the numbers of city dwellers increased to at least 30% of the population by the start of the new century.⁹ The rapid development of machinery affected the housewife in the home as well as the industrial worker. Housekeeping became, in the course of a few decades, a vastly simpler matter with the many labor-saving devices which were invented or perfected, and especially the movement out of the home of many processes formerly consuming much of the house-wife's time and energy. Urbanization also demanded smaller homes or apartments easier to care for. Women were thus suddenly provided with a great deal more leisure, and practically no responsibility for family support. The family had changed from a predominantly producing to a consuming unit as far as material goods are implied. A sense of common family enterprise was thus lost to some extent. Unity changed to a greater divergence of interests and individual desires in the distribution of an often inadequate income. Spending money wisely in a family requires a high degree of thoughtfulness and coöperation. Capitalistic organization has had a tremendous influence in this breaking-up of the traditional family enterprise and so of its unity because it has taken much of the work out of the home whence women have followed it.

9. Ibid, p. 21.

Urbanization and the Middle Class

Urbanization changed the complexion of American culture to a great extent. From a rural population--only about 60% urban at the opening of the Civil War--the number of city dwellers increased to at least 80% of the population by the start of the new century.⁹ The rapid development of machinery affected the housewife in the home as well as the industrial worker. Housekeeping became, in the course of a few decades, a vastly simpler matter with the many labor-saving devices which were invented or perfected, and especially the movement out of the home of many processes formerly consuming much of the housewife's time and energy. Urbanization also demanded smaller houses or apartments easier to care for. Women were thus suddenly provided with a great deal more leisure, and practically no responsibility for family support. The family had changed from a predominantly producing to a consuming unit as far as material goods are implied. A sense of common family enterprise was thus lost to some extent. Unity changed to a greater divergence of interests and individual desires in the distribution of an often inadequate income. Spending money wisely in a family requires a high degree of thoughtfulness and negotiation. Capitalistic organization has had a tremendous influence in this breaking-up of the traditional family enterprise and so of the unity because it has taken much of the work out of the home which women have followed it.

CHAPTER III

Present Family SituationThe Family in Transition

At this point it might be well to consider the present American family in its varying aspects. The most important fact to understand about the family of today is that it is in a state of change and flux. The family as an institution has never been static, but the present period, characterized by the emancipation of women, is quite revolutionary in its changes. Actual changes in homes, tools, and processes are not hard to which to adjust, but changes in the form of living, in beliefs, standards, and ideals are accepted less easily. The family is now earning, not making a living. Its services are sold to get food and shelter. Society is now limiting initiative and ambitions by group control of industry. Its code is some years behind its practices.¹⁰ Of course, such a statement as the above expresses a rather extreme viewpoint, which needs critical delimiting, but it does show a definite trend in present-day life.

Economic Factors Affecting the Family

It is evident from studies made that economic necessity is a vital factor in the out-working of many married women, while the desire for self-expression is less significant as the driving motive. The average man's wages or salary cannot be stretched to

10. Fisher, D. C. & Gruenberg, S. M., "Our Children," p. 294-300.

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cover the multitudinous needs of modern city life. Even on a carefully planned budget most working-men receive inadequate wages, at the present time, with which to meet their expenses. Children have ceased to be an economic asset and have become a luxury. Parents no longer expect children to support them in their old age to the extent to which they did formerly.

One reason for the present inadequate wage scale is the raised standard of living in America. Its culture is so largely material that many former luxuries are now classed as necessities, as, for instance, running hot and cold water, electric appliances, and automobiles. Of course, the present economic depression has affected this situation, yet any change in attitude toward luxuries may be only temporary and not universal.

Dr. Viva Boothe, Assistant Professor of Business Research and Sociology of Ohio State University, says, "The old standard dictates a parasitic, non-productive, child-bearing existence for the wife, and further implies that she content herself with lower standards of material comfort and well-being for herself and her family than her environment encourages her to desire. At the same time, modern industry offers an avenue whereby she may receive remunerative employment outside the home to supplement the insufficient wage of husband or father, and the pressure of both need and desire disposes her to take the opportunity."¹¹

This paragraph expresses the point of view of many sociologists, which, while somewhat extreme, nevertheless does

11. Boothe, V., "Gainfully Employed Women in the Family." Annals of the American Academy, March 1932, p. 77.

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This paragraph expresses the point of view of many sociologists, which, while somewhat extreme, nevertheless does

touch upon the essential difference in attitude toward the old and new standards as they may be carried out today in small-family homes consisting of only a few rooms in contrast to the old-time large-family homes of houses and garden.

Functions Carried on Outside the Home

The actual importance of the home as a producing unit along material lines has decreased as outside agencies have taken over more and more of the former work of the home. The cooking, sewing, washing, care of health, education, leisure activities--all are carried on in part outside the home, and sometimes more efficiently in this age of expert service. It is no longer truly economical to bake bread and can food at home, if the house-wife's time is properly valued. Ready-made clothing is usually better in style and tailoring than is the home-made variety. Restaurants, laundries, schools, and hospitals serve the home effectively. The renting of small houses, or apartments lessens the home's responsibility in other ways. Care of property, gardens, and the like are largely eliminated. Frequent moving to a new neighborhood and increased use of automobiles decreases family and community unity also to a marked degree, although it should be pointed out that the family car may be a means of providing common recreation of a unifying sort.

The Small Family with Increased Leisure

The wife in the usual urban family has fewer children than formerly. Knowledge of contraceptive methods has played

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The Small Family with Increased Leisure

The life in the usual urban family has fewer children than formerly. Knowledge of contraceptive methods has played

its share in this change, although this is but one factor entering into this problem. Woman in the modern home tends to become bored with too much leisure and too little work of an interesting type. Unless she becomes parasitic and indifferent, she finds some occupation which is satisfying to her. She may endeavor to make her house-keeping and child-rearing a real interest, she may turn to club work or social service, she may enter a gainful occupation--these are but a few of her choices at the present time. The main difference between her and her sister of the past is that she has a real choice to make. This statement does not imply that this is a simple choice free from external or internal compulsions, but that, at least, new paths are open to her. It is fortunate that this is so, for with the complexity of contemporary society, and its stresses and strains, the woman of today frequently feels grave need of an emotional outlet. Something must take the place of the former satisfying contributions made by wife or mother to the home. The clinging-vine or helpless woman in the home is no longer attractive to many men, even though some, wanting wives who are like their mothers, find her appealing to their vanity and pride in protection.

Conflicts in the Home

All these factors, and particularly the changing economic status of women, cause conflicts in the modern home. Man naturally clings to the old culture pattern of masculine superiority based

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upon feminine economic dependence, and readjustment to this strange new world is in some respects harder for him to achieve than for the woman; for he must, to his discomfort, change his conception of the role he plays in the home. The father who believes firmly in a single authority or one head to a family finds his lot very hard at the present time, for the family members often have a totally different belief about family life and may refuse to concede to this patriarchal policy. The result naturally is detrimental to family unity or sympathetic interaction of the group.

Pleasure Philosophy and Woman's Employment

Another less obvious change has taken place in the attitude of the people toward life. A pleasure philosophy has supplanted the old duty philosophy, so that happiness and comfort are now considered a right. This philosophy demands material goods, which, in turn, implies the expenditure of money. So, unless the husband is one of a very small group of financially successful men, the wife is tempted or even forced to help provide the desired comforts or necessities for the family. The economic independence of a large group of women before marriage has opened the way for the entrance of women into industry, business, or the professions after marriage. The force of necessity making this state of affairs a relatively common occurrence, at the present time, society has less condemnation now than in the past for this out-of-the-home activity.

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This does not mean that there is not still criticism and discussion of such a state of affairs, but that people do not take the view held in colonial days illustrated by the statement that the Puritan women friends of Governor Winthrop's wife thought that she lost her mind because she deserted her domestic duties and meddled in man's sphere.¹²

Social Equality of Women with Men

The increasing economic independence of women has gone hand in hand with their political enfranchisement, educational opportunities, and legal recognition. Although discrimination is still extensive against women, as shown by the lower scale of salaries or wages paid them, this is growing less prevalent, and as Ernest R. Groves, the well-known sociologist, says,

"As more women become economically independent and women as a class push forward to a larger measure of social equality, the present prejudice favoring men who compete with women in the same line and under the same conditions of work will be less and less maintained; and as social opinion changes, driven to a new attitude by the logic of existing facts, man as a competing individual will be forced to surrender the advantages he now obtains from being a member of the group of males."¹³

Birth Control and the Family

With the present economic situation, urbanization, and congregate dwellings it is not surprising that small families have become so common. In fact, consciously planned childless marriages are no longer a novelty. The use of contraceptives has spread rapidly, at the same time that their effectiveness

12. Miller, N., "The European Heritage of the American Family," *Annals of the American Academy*, March 1932, p. 10.

13. Groves, E. R., "Social Problems of the Family", p. 77

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has increased, so that although most sociologists do not claim real control of population by this means, even in those countries where it is legally sanctioned, this practice has had a marked influence on family life in America. Dr. M. M. Knight of Barnard College uses the term "the companionate" to indicate the above-mentioned type of planned childless marriage, unheard of in olden times. The question of the wife's working is far simpler in such a marriage because children do not complicate the situation. Broken homes have also become common, but constitute a different problem, which may be considered outside the scope of this paper.

Self-expression on the Part of the Wife

The much discussed self-expression on the part of the wife is found more frequently in the companionate type of marriage. Less time is required for home duties if children are not present, so that the wife often has a surplus of time and energy at her disposal. She may become self-centered and neurotic or lazy and parasitic unless she fills her leisure time with purposeful activity, not necessarily gainful.

Self-expression in Domesticity

Cases of various disorders among married women have been reported rather commonly, and reports often varied widely as to

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CHAPTER IV

Motives for Employment of Married Women Outside the HomeDesire for a Gregarious Occupation

The wife, perhaps the newly-wed, with free time and no children, shows one motive for her employment in the very real boredom she experiences because of the vacuum she faces as compared with her pre-marital occupation in business, industry, or a profession. Groves stresses particularly the lonely nature of house-work and the desire impelling many women to a gregarious occupation.

"Women's economic experience has profoundly influenced her by awakening her desire for gregarious satisfaction. It is not economic motive alone--in some cases it is not at all the desire for gain--that makes so many married women who have worked in industry before they started housekeeping crave intensely a return to employment outside of the house. Without question the restlessness of a considerable number of so-called 'nervous housewives' is actually rooted in unsatisfied gregarious hankerings, even though the source of the difficulty is kept out of consciousness because it would seem treason against affection to admit that the home does not fully satisfy them."¹⁴

Emotional Tension in Housewives

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14. Groves, E.R., Ibid, p. 85-86.

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show that lack of mental and social outlet plays a large part in their causation. The drudgery and monotony of housework serves to create emotional tension in those women who have no domestic leanings. They feel that there is no fairness in a division of labor which gives to them all the manual work in the home, when they would prefer some other type of work in a group. There are on the other hand, of course, many women who are supremely happy in keeping house--cooking, cleaning, sewing are preferred to the routine of an office or factory.

Frustration and Regret

Another phase of the problem of a woman's giving up her job for marriage is the feeling that may later rankle in her of regret, which may sow the seeds of future marital discord. As she struggles with the petty annoyances of the daily grind of housekeeping on a small income, she feels cheated. She has given up more than her husband; her hopes and ambitions for a career have been thwarted; a dangerous feeling of frustration may threaten the success of the marriage. Such an attitude is a new development since the emergence of women into industry, and not surprising, although disconcerting to a man-ordered world. Many times the very women who desire freedom for self-expression have no real talent or abilities when they have the chance to prove their mettle. The situation is bound up with the materialistic, pleasure-seeking attitude toward life so prevalent in this age.

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Economic Necessity

While a small percentage of women want to work so that they may have luxuries or added comforts, the majority of wives and mothers work because of economic necessity. This may mean provision of actual necessities of shelter, food, and clothing, or it may include anticipated future expenditures for education, medical care, and insurance. In other words, the motive is frequently to earn money for maintaining or raising the family standard of living rather than to stage a conscious or deliberate revolt against the prevailing social attitudes. This fact is proved pretty conclusively by the figures found in the summary of Agnes Peterson's studies of wage-earning women. Miss Peterson is Assistant Director of the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor. She states that in 20 studies of 58,630 employed married women made between 1888 and 1921 more than 30,000 or 52.5%, contributed all of their earnings to the family, and over 22,000 or 38.7% contributed part of their earnings, leaving only 5,000, or 8.8%, who contributed nothing. It would seem doubtful whether 91.2% of these women would contribute all or part of their earnings to the home unless this money were needed for necessities. It is interesting to note that 21% of these women were the sole support of the family.¹⁵

Another study, made in Denver in 1928, of married women applying for jobs showed 90% working because of necessity.¹⁶

A department store reported 84%, including married, widowed,

15. Peterson, A., "What the Wage-earning Woman Contributes to Family Support", p. 13.

16. Brown, E., "A Study of Two Groups of Denver Married Women Applying for Jobs," p. 2.

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and divorced women; of this group 32 of 36 women, reported as having husbands contributing to their support, stated that it was necessary for them to work. Nearly one third of these women had children under sixteen years of age.¹⁷ The facts are incomplete, but furnish evidence to show the importance of this motive in the employment of married women. Even when the answer is given that a woman prefers to work this often means that the extra money earned is really needed for a more adequate life in the home rather than as an avenue of escape. A desire to help the husband is often a strong motive leading to employment.

As the out-working of married women has become increasingly common the motive is more frankly admitted, although rationalization may be unconsciously indulged in on this point.

The story of Rose may serve to illustrate the necessity of a wife's working to provide sufficient income to keep the family functioning on its accustomed scale of living as well as to point out some of the practical difficulties involved.

The Story of Rose

Rose is an intelligent, attractive young American woman in her late thirties who had married, in her early twenties, Peter, a South American. After a year or two her husband developed an intermittent chronic illness which necessitated her securing work in order to meet the necessary family expenses. She worked for five years as assistant treasurer of a leather company. The hours

17. Ibid, p. 8

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were long--from 8.30 A.M. to 5.00, 6.00, or 7.00 P.M., depending upon the work to be done. In addition her husband as a semi-invalid, required her special care. The laundry was sent out, but the rest of the house-work was done by Rose in her spare moments.

The strain of this strenuous life, together with the emotional stress involved in the situation, brought on a so-called "nervous breakdown". Other factors, such as the difficulties of adjustment in an international marriage and financial worries, played their part in causing this collapse.

After Rose's recovery she secured an excellent position as assistant sales manager in a firm manufacturing mining machinery. This work lasted for seven years until the factory closed due to the present economic situation. Since that time Rose has earned some money playing the organ, singing in a church choir, and teaching music. Her husband has been able to teach Spanish in various schools for brief periods during the fourteen years of their marriage, but his health has always interfered with steady work. His salary usually covered his medical bills, while Rose paid all the household expenses.

Rose's reactions to outside employment were somewhat mixed. She stated that her work had been a relief to her emotionally because of a difficult home situation, and yet that it added difficulties of its own. Peter was willing to accept her help because of sheer necessity, yet after he grew used to the situation he let his wife pay all the household expenses and, when he did earn

were long--from 8.30 A.M. to 5.00, 6.00, or 7.00 P.M., depending
ing upon the work to be done. In addition her husband as a
semi-invalid, required her special care. The laundry was sent
out, but the rest of the house-work was done by Rose in her spare
moments.

The strain of this strenuous life, together with the
emotional stress involved in the situation, brought on a so-
called "nervous breakdown". Other factors, such as the difficulties
of adjustment in an international marriage, and financial worries,
played their part in causing this collapse.

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extra money, he spent it all on himself and contributed none to the household, in other words, he took Rose's earning for granted, and felt she owed it to the home. As both lacked physical vigor it was fortunate that there were no children, for they would have added greatly to the load Rose was carrying. Based on the experiences of her friends, she said she felt children were often not wanted while the wife was working because they were a distinct handicap to her.

Rose also said that her work was a source of irritation to Peter because it interfered with her going out with him in the evening occasionally, also that he disliked hearing her talk about her job. Perhaps jealousy of her success was the underlying cause of this resentment. Another factor, sometimes causing trouble, came from the temptation of accepting the invitations of men she met in business. This, however, was not a real problem to her, but the possibility of unfaithfulness to the husband or weaning away sometimes resulted in a broken home, she felt.

Although she found her work less boring than house-work and valuable for its practical experience, she disliked the long hours of confining work found in business, and much prefers her present less remunerative work in which she can set her own hours and give as much time as she can afford to her husband and her home.

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CHAPTER V

Types of Employment EnteredVariety of Occupations

Employment for married women today is as varied as it is for single women, although certain types of employment are more easily adapted to the double routine of home and outside work. Naturally more flexible hours or part-time work make it easier for the married woman, but in general such arrangements are not widespread. Hundreds of wives and mothers punch the time-clock in factories all over the country; night-work is even their lot all too often, in spite of the efforts of legislators to forbid this practice.

In general clerical or professional work offers greater opportunities to married women. Particularly easy to enter are occupations with seasonal or daily peaks such as tea-rooms, and department stores, where married women are often called upon when extra help is needed. There is also the danger of being laid off quickly which is a disadvantageous feature of many jobs for this group of workers.

The Married Woman Teacher

Of especial interest is the case of the married woman teacher, whose position is decidedly insecure today--if, indeed, she has one at all. School boards are dropping such women right and left, quite regardless of the legality of such action, for

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the sole cause of marriage. Paul Garver, an educator, declares that this practice, which is all too common, is illegal. It continues because cases are not often brought to court. Teaching form women will not reach its rightful level of dignity and permanence until this "racket" of school boards is stopped.¹⁸

Thinking people suggest that efficiency should be the basis upon which teachers are chosen or retained rather than such a condition as marital status. The double duties of home and school may affect efficiency, in which case there is justification for dropping the teacher in question. But too often rules are made to please the taxpayer quite regardless of the question of efficiency.

Some married women, particularly those hired before the past few years, still retain their positions. The case of one may be cited for the interest it may hold for those studying the married woman teacher.

The Story of Doris

Doris's story is interesting because of the way opportunities for work came to her after marriage is such a logical sequence that her habits of outside employment became established almost without definite planning on her part. Her training was in education. She became interested in education for the mentally defective, and, for a time, taught at an institution for such children. Douglas, a graduate of an agricultural college, was doing scientific farming at the same institution. After the couple married they were both asked to continue their work, and were given a cottage to live in,

18. Garver, P.N., "Legal Status of Married Woman Teachers", School and Society, Oct. 24, 1931, p. 571-6.

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so it was natural for them to accept such an attractive offer. At this time Douglas was 23, Doris 22 years of age. Following a year more at this institution a similar opening, with greater inducements, was offered the wife in another state, while the husband worked in a nearby chemical plant. Each time Doris advanced a step professionally in her special field. After two years the young couple decided to return to their home state, and Doris remained at home for six months keeping house for Douglas's mother who was not well at the time. Then she was offered the position of head-teacher in a newly organized school for feeble-minded children. Douglas, meanwhile, was working as a salesman in charge of a group of men. The following year an opening in a city public school system gave Doris the chance to start a special class, which later developed into a department with six classes, planned and started by her. As supervisor of special classes, Doris has a responsible full-time position, in addition to which she carries out the mental testing program for all the schools in the city.

In this case the wife's working was not primarily based on the economic motive, although the double income has enabled the couple to buy their own home, and maintain an adequate standard of living. The husband has been freer to change his type of work than he would have been otherwise.

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Doris's work she feels has filled her life, otherwise perhaps rather empty, with vital interests. She is the kind of woman who might readily have spent far too much time on her home if this had been her only occupation, for she enjoys housework and interior decoration, and is a very conscientious person.

This marriage was between two individuals with a background of Puritanical ideas and training on the sexual side of their union. Excessive repressions made their mutual adjustments unusually slow and difficult. It is only after fourteen years of married life that they have attained a degree of understanding and freedom in their sex life. Doris feels that her work has been very valuable to her as an emotional outlet in view of this situation. She has also received mental stimulation and a broadening of her outlook on life through the contacts she has made thereby. She acknowledges receiving help in her personal adjustment problems through the frank discussions with her co-workers of such subjects, possible to a group of professional women friends, whose thinking is guided by scientific reading and lectures. Such help is not readily to be found in talks with her married women friends, whose thinking is more largely along conventional lines.

Douglas, too, has been broadened by his outside contacts, so that their companionship is now based on mutual understanding and varied interests. Doris says that her hours at school leave her time for the personal service she feels Douglas should have. The difference in the type of her work at school and at home she finds stimulating and refreshing, so that fatigue is not

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extreme, especially as she makes intelligent use of labor-saving devices to lighten her domestic load. The marriage seems to be working out well on its present basis, although Doris does not want to keep on working indefinitely.

Child-bearing and Married Women Teachers

Child-bearing is considered the insurmountable stumbling block in this question of married women teachers. Provision can be made for this, however, as it is in France, which has an excellent law recognizing the right and duty of women to marry, continue teaching, and bear children, by giving leave of absence with pay for two months or more for this purpose. Surely a mother should understand better, and not to a less extent, how to train and educate the whole child if she has the double experience of bringing up a child of her own and teaching other children.

Single & Unknown	7,804,772	3,307,407	41.9	1900
Married	15,312,087	760,477	5.0	1900
Widowed & Divorced	2,232,282	220,401	9.9	1900
Total	25,349,141	4,288,285	16.9	1900

Single & Unknown	7,931,361	4,042,104	50.9	1910
Married	17,824,687	1,000,241	5.6	1910
Widowed & Divorced	3,361,226	1,147,345	34.1	1910
Total	29,117,274	6,190,690	21.3	1910

Single, Married, Widowed & Divorced	12,254,002	4,472,012	36.5	1920
Married	21,312,202	1,080,202	5.1	1920
Total	23,177,312	5,552,214	24.0	1920

Single & Unknown	11,250,002	5,714,002	50.8	1930
Married	22,170,002	2,001,002	9.0	1930
Widowed & Divorced	2,327,002	1,285,002	55.2	1930

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CHAPTER VI

Extent of the Problem of Married Women's Working

In order to appreciate the extent of married women's working and the growth in actual numbers, it may be well to study the summary of the census report for 1890 to 1930, which shows the proportion of women, fifteen years old and over, gainfully occupied, by marital condition. From this table we see

Number and Proportion of Women 15 years old and over gainfully occupied by marital condition 1890 - 1930.

Women 15 years old and over				
Census year and marital condition	Total Number	Number	Percent of Total	Percentage Distribution
1890				
Single & Unknown	6,250,912	2,531,398	40.5	68.2
Married	11,124,785	515,260	4.6	13.9
Widowed & Divorced	2,226,481	665,486	29.9	17.9
Total	19,602,178	3,712,144	18.9	100.0
1900				
Single & Unknown	7,606,772	3,307,497	43.5	66.2
Married	13,810,057	769,477	5.6	15.4
Widowed & Divorced	2,832,362	920,441	32.5	18.4
Total	24,249,191	4,997,415	20.6	100.0
1910				
Single & Unknown	9,001,342	4,602,102	51.1	60.2
Married	17,684,687	1,890,661	10.7	24.7
Widowed & Divorced	3,361,296	1,147,065	34.1	15.0
Total	30,047,325	7,639,828	25.4	100.0
1920				
Single, Widowed, Divorced & Unknown	13,858,582	6,426,515	46.4	77.0
Married	21,318,933	1,920,281	9.0	23.0
Total	35,177,515	8,346,796	23.7	100.0
1930				
Single & Unknown	11,359,038	5,734,825	50.5	53.9
Married	26,170,756	3,071,302	11.7	28.9
Widowed & Divorced	5,307,355	1,826,100	34.4	17.2
Total	42,837,149	10,632,227	24.8	100.0

1 This group was not subdivided in 1920.

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Women 15 years old and over				
Marital condition		Census year and Total Number Percent of Percentage Distribution		
1930				
Single & Unknown	6,250,912	2,831,392	45.3	87.2
Married	11,124,782	512,280	4.6	13.2
Widowed & Divorced	2,222,421	882,486	39.7	17.9
Total	19,608,115	3,716,158	18.9	100.0
1920				
Single & Unknown	7,502,772	3,307,437	43.9	86.2
Married	12,510,037	782,477	6.3	12.4
Widowed & Divorced	2,222,322	922,421	41.5	18.4
Total	22,235,131	4,992,335	22.5	100.0
1910				
Single & Unknown	7,001,222	4,002,102	57.1	80.2
Married	17,684,287	1,882,281	10.7	22.7
Widowed & Divorced	2,221,222	1,127,022	51.1	19.0
Total	26,906,731	7,011,405	26.0	100.0
1900				
Single, Widowed, & Divorced	12,522,222	2,422,222	19.4	77.0
Married	21,212,222	1,222,222	5.8	23.0
Total	33,734,444	3,644,444	10.8	100.0
1890				
Single & Unknown	11,222,222	2,222,222	20.0	82.0
Married	22,122,222	2,012,222	9.1	22.0
Widowed & Divorced	2,222,222	1,222,222	55.0	17.0
Total	25,566,666	5,456,666	21.3	100.0

1 This group was not tabulated in 1930.

that the number of married women in employment increased 60% from 1920 to 1930. Figures for distribution of employed married women have not been reported for the entire country yet, but from the information furnished by 41 states we know that in 32 of these states the largest number of employed married women are in domestic and personal service; in the remaining 9 states agriculture and manufacturing industries lead, with domestic and personal service ranking second. This again shows, not the desire for a career, but grim necessity. The Director of the Women's Bureau, in making her annual report for 1932, in which the above figures are given says, "There are many indications that widespread unemployment among men has thrown the responsibility of family support upon women to an event greater extent than has been the case heretofore."¹⁹

Another interesting statement shows the extent of this problem in one city.

"Here then is an industrial city with a total population of approximately 67,000 of which 25,000 are wage earners. About one third of all the industrial workers are women, and 49% of these are married. The length of their working day, their wages, differ little or not at all from those of their unmarried sisters."²⁰

"Whether married women go to work because of economic necessity, whether it is from personal preference for work outside of the home, or whether it means a desire to be economically independent of their husbands, they are being employed in increasingly large numbers. Their presence in our industry can no longer be ignored or pushed aside because of prejudice or fear. They are to be accepted and reckoned with as any other group of industrial workers."²¹

19. "14th Annual Report of the Director of the Women's Bureau," June 30, 1932, p. 18.

20. "Married Women in Industry in Binghamton, N.Y.", Monthly Labor Review, Jan. 1928, p. 62.

21. "Married Women in Industry in Binghamton, N.Y.", Monthly Labor Review, Jan. 1928, pl. 62-63.

that the number of married women in employment increased 80% from 1930 to 1935. Figures for distribution of employed married women have not been reported for the entire country yet, but from the information furnished by 41 states we know that in 35 of these states the largest number of employed married women are in domestic and personal services; in the remaining 6 states agriculture and manufacturing industries lead, with domestic and personal services ranking second. This again shows not the desire for a career, but grim necessity. The Director of the Women's Bureau, in making her annual report for 1935, in which the above figures are given says, "There are many indications that widespread unemployment among men has thrown the responsibility of family support upon women to an extent greater extent than has been the case heretofore."

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Married Women in Business or a Profession

Married women who enter business or a profession form a group which was increasing in size up to the present economic depression with its reaction against this practice. Even in this more privileged class we find economic reasons as the most frequent underlying motive. Woodhouse writing in the Graphic Survey of January, 1932, reports in a study of 568 married college alumnae working, 58% giving the economic reason; 65% of those with children and 49% of those without gave this reason. They worked "to help him, (the husband) bear the burdens of maintaining present-day standards, fear that the condition of his health meant that she, the wife, ultimately would be the chief support, because of a specific financial disaster, to enable the husband to change his business or to obtain a higher degree---these were the economic reasons."²²

The standards of this group are higher, hence the uses for extra money vary somewhat, but actual luxuries and pleasures are shown to be the motive less frequently than one would believe when reading much of the current periodical writing which reflects popular opinion. One possible explanation for this difference of opinion and studies made is that woman may conceal the real motive in order to put on a bold front to the world. It is more interesting to have a career or work because ~~one~~ wants to than it is to work because ~~one~~ must in order to keep the family a going concern.

22. Woodhouse, C.G., "Does Money Make the Marriage Go?", Graphic Survey, January, 1932, p. 357.

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Desire for a Career

To some women the desire for a career or success in a chosen profession is the spur to outside activity after marriage. The money involved is incidental, the interest or enthusiasm for the work being dominant. Marriage is not considered the end of their ambitions by such women, but merely a part of their lives as it is for men. These women are not necessarily a-maternal, although some among their numbers care less for children than the average. The case of Jane is an example of such an ambitious woman.

The Story of Jane

Jane, a former school-teacher, started her married life in the conventional pattern of keeping house and having children as was expected of her by her relatives who were most conservative people and felt that a married woman's working was a reflection on the husband's ability to support his wife.

When her two boys were of kindergarten age, she became interested in the Parent-Teacher Association as well as in numerous church and club activities. These interests led to volunteer work at the local evening school center which, in turn, opened into an opportunity to become a paid worker. Accordingly, Jane became assistant manager.

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fast she had no difficulty in making the necessary adjustments. Her husband was not **averse** to her working, although her own mother and her father-in-law disapproved.

After a promotion to acting-manager of the evening center Jane became associate manager in charge of the Parent-Teachers Associations. Her main interests were clubs and politics, so it is not surprising to find her today prominent in women's club work, a member of the state political party committee, and a member of a large city school committee.

She has enjoyed her outside work keenly with its wide contacts and public recognition. She says her husband has been willing to take a back seat and help her achieve her successes in politics, as ^{has} her one son. The other son does not feel sympathetic with his mother's work. Jane says that her belief is that outside work for a wife and mother should be subordinated to home and family which is her first responsibility. She feels there has been goodwill and comradeship in her home, although at times she questions her own wisdom in taking on outside duties on such a large scale which has meant less of her companionship for her family. Jane is such an energetic, ambitious woman that it seems probable that she would have been extremely dissatisfied with only home life. It is fortunate for her that her husband is self-effacing and willing to have her the better known of the two. Without this quality in him there might have been jealousy and un-

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CHAPTER VII

happiness. Some such emotions probably cause the son's unsympathetic attitude toward his mother's work, together with pity for his father in this, to him, unmanly role.

The wife we must look at the problem in its effects upon the wife herself, the husband, the child, child-bearing, infant mortality, marriage and the home.

The WifeAdvantages to the Wife

The actual financial contribution of the employed wife may be a source of great satisfaction to the woman eager to maintain or raise the family standard of living. She may feel that this is a more direct form of contribution than is the materially unproductive house-work of the present era. She has an opportunity to satisfy her personal ambition or to express herself in a job or a vocation interesting to her although it may seem unimportant to the rest of the world. The fact that some women dislike house-work and caring for children is a factor to be reckoned with in modern marriage with its new freedom in expressing likes and dislikes. Formerly such women could not avail themselves of the outlet of non-domestic work. The great advantage to the wife is the increased self-respect which often comes with economic independence. No longer is the woman dependent entirely upon the husband for support universal. Such a condition may be actually

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CHAPTER VII

Advantages and Disadvantages of the Employment of the Married Woman

In considering the advantages and disadvantages of the working wife we must look at the problem in its effects upon the wife herself, the husband, the child, child-bearing, infant mortality, marriage and the home.

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The actual financial contribution of the employed wife may be a source of great satisfaction to the woman eager to maintain or raise the family standard of living. She may feel that this is a truer form of contribution than is the materially non-productive house-work of the present era. She has an opportunity to satisfy her personal ambition or to express herself in a job or a vocation interesting to her although it may seem humdrum to the rest of the world. The fact that some women dislike house-work and caring for children is a factor to be reckoned with in modern marriage with its new freedom in expressing likes and dislikes. Formerly such women could not avail themselves of the outlet of non-domestic work. One great advantage to the wife is the increased self-respect which often comes with economic independence. No longer is the desire to depend entirely upon the husband for support universal. Such a condition may be actually

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distasteful to the girl who has supported herself for years before marriage.

The following quotation written by Mary Ross, Associate Editor of the Survey Graphic, brings out strikingly the varying attitudes commonly observed in different types of women, which makes house-work a form of drudgery to one and of delight to another. This variation in make-up of women accounts for part of the wide disagreement among women themselves about the desirability of married women's working. They see the problem in opposite lights.

"Pounding a typewriter, running a machine, is no less monotonous than the daily dusting and dish-washing. But the office or factory job has the advantage of a social setting, of a touch-and-go companionship with others, a change of scene during the day.

"The farmhouse with its large families who worked in and about the place, and with the neighbors or hired help in for the crises, and the pageant of the seasons passing outside the windows, was a far less lonely place than the empty flat with a panorama of roof-tops, or even the commuter's bungalow after the man has gone for the day and the children are at school. It is this kind of loneliness that sends women upon aimless window-shopping expeditions or bridge parties and matinees, if they have the price. Girls who have gone from school into the whirring activity of a large organization think longingly of peaceful days at home, but when they achieve them, they are likely to want to get back with the bunch, to have some contact with a busy and talkative world other than the grocer and a tired husband.

"And at the same time, far below any conscious desire for 'economic independence' I believe that there is an impulse for partnership in marriage, for the feeling that the man and woman are working together, both contributing to the support of the family

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"Forming a typewriter, running a machine, is no less monotonous than the daily dusting and dish-washing. But the office or factory job has the advantage of a social setting, of a touch-and-go companionship with others, a change of scene during the day.

"The farmhouse with its large families who worked in and about the place, and with the neighbors or hired help in for the crises, and the payment of the seasons passing outside the windows, was a far less lonely place than the empty flat with a panorama of roof-tops, or even the company's bungalow after the man has gone for the day and the children are at school. It is this kind of loneliness that sends women upon those window-shopping expeditions or bridge parties and dances, if they have the price. Girls who have gone from school into the winning activity of a large organization think fondly of peaceful days at home, but when they achieve them, they are likely to want to get back with the bunch, to have some contact with a busy and talkative world other than the grocer and a tired husband.

"And at the same time, far below any conscious desire for 'economic independence' I believe that there is an impulse for partnership in marriage, for the feeling that the man and woman are working together, both contributing to the support of the family

(as they both did in pioneer families), which has been weakened by the new family economics in which one earns and the other spends; one creates leisure and the other enjoys it." . . .

"Gladys ran a switchboard for five years after high school until Harry came along. His \$45 a week looked almost twice as large as her \$25, and think of not having to get in the subway jam at 8:30! So she retired to her neat, varnished little flat, and bought some cute bungalow aprons and studied cooking for two with fervor. The girls came to see her evenings and on Saturday afternoons and Sundays, but all day long, after the beds were made and the breakfast dishes washed, there wasn't much to do except shop and dash home to a solitary but economical lunch on the laundry tub, rather than invest in expensive sociability at the soda counter. Then her successor at the office was taken ill, and she came back 'temporarily'. The temporary job stretched on; Gladys found that \$70 a week was a lot pleasanter than \$45. It was grand, too, to be back with the bunch. Now a much-desired baby is imminent. Everyone expected that Gladys would make another and final disappearance. But not so. 'If you'll hold my job for four months,' said Gladys, 'I'm coming back. My mother's just crazy about taking care of kids, and the money I can give her means a lot at home. And say, I spent my vacation at home cleaning up the place and making baby clothers, and for me there's nothing in it.'

"Lucy is unlike Gladys in that she really likes to potter around the house. She is never happier than in the moment when she places a superlatively roasted chicken on the table, or buttons one of her offspring into a new, home-made dress. Had she been trained, Lucy's talent for designing clothers might easily bring high sums, but she married young and her only marketable skill is stenography. Lucy and her husband want to hear good music, see good plays, and read good books. But his excellent education does not seem to be translatable in market terms; the fair salary he earns has never been enough to cover more than routine needs, and in crises, when a child has been seriously ill, it falls lamentably short.

"So Lucy brushes up the shorthand and goes back to a job, as she has done three or four times before in her ten years of married life. The children

(as they both did in pioneer families), which has been weakened by the new family economics in which one earns and the other spends; one creates leisure and the other enjoys it."

"Gladys ran a switchboard for five years after high school until Harry came along. His \$48 a week looked almost twice as large as her \$25, and she had not having to get in the subway jam at 8:00! So she retired to her nest, renovated little flat, and bought some cute purple aprons and started cooking for two with fervor. The girls came to see her evenings and on Saturday afternoons and Sundays, but all day long, after the beds were made and the breakfast dishes washed, there wasn't much to do except shop and dash home to a solitary but economical lunch on the laundry tub, rather than invest in expensive sociability at the soda counter. Then her successor at the office was Helen M., and she came back 'temporarily'. The temporary job stretched on; Gladys found that \$70 a week was a lot pleasanter than \$48. It was grand, too, to be back with the bunch. Now a much desired baby is imminent. Everyone expected that Gladys would raise another and final disappearance. But not so. 'If you'll hold my job for four months,' said Gladys, 'I'm coming back. My mother's just crazy about taking care of kids, and the money I can give her means a lot at home. And say, I spent my vacation at home cleaning up the place and making baby clothes, and for me there's nothing in it.'

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are in school now and her mother can help some. Even if she had to pay for all the help, she figures that her \$30 a week when she works leaves the family better off financially than if she stayed at home to save. She would rather stay at home, if it could be done with provision for necessities and a modest margin for emergencies and recreation and sociability; but when it means anxiety, insecurity, and isolation-- well, she is glad she can get a job. She wants the children to have more opportunity than she had-- she guesses that now she is back at work for good, or at least until they are educated.--"23

Whereas Lucy really prefers staying at home where she is contented with her lot if financial security is assured, Gladys enjoys keenly the gregarious occupations found outside the home rather than solitary house-work.

The story of Grace shows a little of each type embodied in one woman which is true to what is often found in actual life.

The Story of Grace

Grace, a well-educated nurse in her early thirties, married Robert, a naval officer of about the same age. In order that they might establish their home on a comfortable basis Grace continued to teach Home Nursing after her marriage, in the school system where she was previously employed, until the past autumn when she gave up this work in order that she might have more leisure time. This decision was occasioned in part by the state of her health, the double duties of home and school, proving to be too great a strain upon her. She is not so robust a woman

23. Ross, Mary, "Shall We Join the Gentlemen?", Survey Graphic, December, 1926, pp. 257, 265.

are in school now and her mother can help some. Even if she had to pay for all the help, she figures that her \$20 a week when she works leaves the family better off financially than if she stayed at home to save. She would rather stay at home, if it could be done with provision for necessities and a modest margin for emergencies and recreation and sociability; but when it means anxiety, insecurity, and isolation-- well, she is glad she can get a job. She wants the children to have more opportunity than she had-- she guesses that now she is back at work for good, or at least until they are educated.---

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At first, Robert objected to his wife's working on conventional grounds but gave in when Grace convinced him that she would be far happier and less lonely if occupied outside the home during the day, particularly since his duties necessitated his absence at frequent intervals. At the present time he is glad she is not working because she is in better health and more ready to be companionable in the evening. He says, though, that he would be glad to have her work if she would be happier in so doing.

Grace wonders now how she ever kept house and taught too; at the same time she acknowledges boredom with only household and social duties to fill her days, although she enjoys house-keeping, for she has no children to keep her busy and only a small apartment to care for. She finds the common small talk at bridge parties boring after the more vital - from her point of view - discussions of professional matters. She feels strongly that there should be no discrimination against married women's working if they must or if they wish to, and that the problems involved may be satisfactorily worked out.

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Desire for Greater Occupation

The satisfaction of the desire for greater occupation

is pointed out by some writers to be an important advantage to the lonely housewife. To quote Professor Groves:

"Another motive that leads women to continue former vocations after marriage is their desire to share the joys of a gregarious employment. The city worker often finds the solitude and non-competitive character of housekeeping very repugnant and increasingly irritating. Working day by day in the house by herself with none of the pleasures of comradeship while at work contrasts unpleasantly with the constant small excitements of urban employment. Her previous habit of work has been permeated with love of gregarious contacts, and the isolation of the house becomes oppressive. . . . Marriage would be at least as serious a trial for the man if he were called upon to give up his gregarious form of labor upon marriage and enter upon an isolated, individualistic type of labor. What is often pronounced the monotony of housework is really its necessary non-gregarious character. It is folly to expect that the young women of today who, in one form or another, are tasting the sweets of gregarious occupation will all be content to work day after day as their mothers and grandmothers did within the four walls of a house." 24

It is evident that if this desire for group contacts is satisfied, the wife will not suffer from loneliness or from conflicts between her wishes and her actual life. She will be far less likely to become neurotic or self-centered because of too much leisure time. Her philosophy of life and social attitude will tend to be more balanced and broader.

Disadvantages to the Wife

Criticism of the Wife's Working

The employed wife is, of course, not a parasite, but takes her place as a worker in a new family division of labor

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Disadvantages to the Wife

Criticisms of the Wife's Working

The employed wife is, of course, not a parasite, but

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brought about by the introduction of science and education into the home. Because our material culture is a step ahead of our thinking and emotional responses there are definite reactions against woman's leaving the home which are traditional.

The working woman still faces a certain degree of disapproval and criticism from her neighbors, friends, and the community. There may be conflict between the vocational interests of husband and wife or jealousy if the wife's salary is more than her husband's. The resentment of some husbands creates a very trying situation at times.

Jane Littell, a contributor to the Atlantic Monthly, pictures her own experiences and the delicate adjustments necessary to a solution of the problem of a wife's achieving financial success equal to her husband's in the following excerpts. Her observations are worth quoting for they show insight into both the husband's and the wife's reactions.

Problem of Inferiority Feelings in Man

"When the married business woman becomes a success, especially if she earns as much money as her husband, she has new problems. A man may be perfectly willing to have his wife work for money if her happiness lies in that direction, but he hates to have her earn as much money as he does. It touches his pride. He feels his crown as master of the household slipping. He acquires an inferiority complex that sometimes causes him to do all sorts of queer things. It takes a steady hand to keep a marriage off the rocks at this period. The husband wants to be the strong one of the family. He wants his wife to look up to him, to admire his superior ability, and to come to him with a coaxing manner when she wants something, so

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Problems of Interference in Men

"When the married business woman becomes a success, especially if she earns as much money as her husband, she has new problems. A man may be nervously willing to have his wife work for money if her business lies in that direction, but he hates to have her earn as much money as he does. It touches his pride. He feels his crown as master of the household slipping. He acquires an inferiority complex that sometimes causes him to do all sorts of queer things. It takes a steady hand to keep a marriage off the rocks at this period. The husband wants to be the strong one of the family. He wants his wife to look up to him, to admire his superior ability, and to come to him with a cooing manner when she wants something, so

that he may feel very magnanimous when he gives her what she wants. Really he wants her to keep her place as the minor part of the family. The wise wife learns, if necessary, to hide the facts of her progress, and always to give her husband the admiration he needs. If she fails as an admirer she can look for another woman in her husband's life--and the chances are the interloper will be an inferior sort of woman, one whose main hold on the husband is that of flattery.

"The difference between the way a successful business woman and a stay-at-home wife will handle the problems of a 'woman in the case' is vast, and typical of the difference in their lives. The business woman says in effect, 'You can't give me anything but companionship anyway. If you don't want to give me that there is nothing left between us. We might as well be divorced.' The stay-at-home wife sees her very bread and butter threatened by the other woman, and what a fuss she makes about it! The queer part of it is that there are fewer successful business women dragged through the divorce courts than there are so-called parasite wives.

"When the married business woman comes to the place where she earns as much as her husband the sea of matrimony becomes strewn with rocks. There are plenty of women who become so ego-ridden over their successes that they are a trial to everyone. Such a woman does little to keep her marriage intact. Her income intoxicates her--and so does the deference shown her by business associates. She loses her perspective. Her conversations bristle with the pronoun--first person singular. She spends most of the time she is at home carefully balancing a chip on her shoulder. If her husband inadvertantly brushes it off, there is another case for the divorce mills.

"Business is too new to women to expect us to take it calmly. And when business success comes to a woman she needs a level head to keep cool about it. I was one of a group of business and professional women the other day when the talk turned to just this subject. Most of them admitted laughingly that they had gone through the 'Look-at-me-and-see-what-I've-done!' stage, which one of them attributed to growing-pains."²⁵

25. Littell, Jane, "Meditations of a Wage-earning Wife", The Atlantic Monthly, December 1924, pp.732-4.

that he may feel very magnanimous when he gives her what she wants. Really he wants her to keep her place as the minor part of the family. The wife learns, if necessary, to live the facts of her progress, and always to give her husband the satisfaction he needs. If she fails as an adviser she can look for another woman in her husband's life--and the chances are the inferior will be an inferior sort of woman, one whose main hold on the husband is that of flattery.

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"When the married business woman comes to the place where she cares as much as her husband the sea of matrimony becomes strewn with rocks. There are plenty of women who become so ego-ridden over their successes that they are a trial to everyone. Such a woman does little to keep her marriage intact. Her income intoxicates her--and so does the deference shown her by business associates. She loses her perspective. Her conversation bristles with the pronoun--first person singular. She spends most of the time she is at home carefully planning a trip on her shoulder. If her husband inadvertently brings it off, there is another case for the divorce mills.

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Social and Biological Disadvantage of Women

She often works long hours, sometimes even at night, and her health may suffer from the double load she may carry of home care and outside employment. She is doing more than her share in such cases, especially if she has children to care for. Small wonder if she becomes tired and discouraged with her ceaseless toil! She cannot develop her personality through social contacts which may be necessary to her happiness. If her husband changes his job according to law she must follow him to another place, thus giving up her own position and chances of promotion. This is not necessarily a hardship, but it may be in cases where the woman has made a place for herself and proved her worth in a particular position. It is not easy for a married woman to find a suitable opening with public opinion against her working, especially if she has children.

The woman is at a disadvantage biologically to some extent. Few countries make provision for women to bear children without economic loss, but this liberal policy is pursued in Brazil where definite time out and allowances for pregnant women are required of the employer by law. In the section on the Married Woman Teacher it is pointed out that France recognizes the duty and privilege of women to bear children by a similar far-sighted policy. America takes a much less progressive attitude and oftentimes penalizes women who have children by dropping them from the ranks of those employed for this cause alone.

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It is, of course, not to be questioned that loss of time for child-bearing is a temporary economic loss to industry, but the question merits deeper study as to its ultimate effects upon the social order. With the added incentive to having children which the removal of permanent loss of a job for the woman would provide, it might well be that the more intelligent and thoughtful women would have more children. The lowered birth-rate in our country is at present in this group, not in the group at a lower culture level.

Class Differences in Attitude toward Married Women's Working

Some writers feel that there are rather definite differences in attitude toward the question of married women's working depending upon the class to which they belong, that is, that the professional classes are more liberal in their viewpoint, than are the laboring classes. A working man's pride is hurt if his wife works, the implication being that he cannot support her. Such generalizations cannot safely be made because the question is too largely a question of individual judgment and opinion, not merely of group attitude. The attitude of the group does have great influence in determining individual behavior in the matter, however, because of the force of public opinion, but in every group there are some brave souls ready to withstand criticism and stand up to their convictions.

The Husband

Very little definite work has been done in studying

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Very little definite work has been done in studying

the attitude of the husband toward the wife's working, but some information was obtained in the following survey which points toward the possibility that class distinctions seem to influence the reactions of husbands toward their wives' working. The greatest freedom seems to be found, as one would expect, in the professional class with higher education. With the exception of the very poor, the man with less education tends to disapprove of his wife's working outside the home.

Lorine Pruette, a writer and student of psychology and sociology, in the study of 314 men, made through an employment agency which placed men largely in clerical, commercial, and professional positions found that their attitude was as follows:--

Conservative.....	65 per cent
Liberal.....	31 per cent
Radical.....	4 per cent

"Conservative" indicated that the man believed woman should devote her time to the home; "liberal" that she might work outside if she wished, except when the care of young children demanded her time at home; "radical" that the woman should earn part of the family income under a cooperative plan of child care and housekeeping. Of these men 243 were unmarried, but no difference of opinion was observed between the married and the unmarried. The education of the group showed:

16. Adapted from Pruette, L., "Women in Leisure" in "Jobs and Marriage", p. 16-17.

17. Little, J., "Reactions of a Wage-earning Wife", The Atlantic Monthly, 1941, 114, Nov. 1941.

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Radical.....	4 per cent

"Conservative" indicated that the man believed women should devote her time to the home; "liberal" that she might work outside if she wished, except when the care of young children demanded her time at home; "radical" that the woman should earn part of the family income under a cooperative plan of child care and housekeeping. Of these men 243 were married, but no difference of opinion was observed between the married and the unmarried. The education of the group showed:

Less than grammar school.....6 per cent

Grammar school.....47per cent

Two or more years of high school.....36 per cent

College.....11per cent

The results indicated that the more liberal were those who had more education.²⁶

Advantage to the Husband of Broadening of the Wife's Interests

If the man belongs to the group believing in the widom of his wife's working he may appreciate that there are distinct advantages to be gained through the broadening of the woman's interests, so that she becomes a better companion for him. There is usually greater similarity in interests at the same time. Jane Littell says,

"One of the good things that comes to a home from which both the husband and wife go forth to business every day is a new comradeship--a new sort of partnership. A working wife has a better chance of being friends with her husband than the stay-at-home wife. And being friends with some one to whom the law binds one is not so easy as it sounds. The wage-earning wife meets her husband on an equality basis. She is no longer a dependent. She is an equal partner. The chances for domestic happiness seem greater than in the old-fashioned marriage where a woman could be nothing but what her husband made her. 27

Disadvantages to the Husband

There seem to be mentioned far more disadvantages than advantages to the husband. In the first place, this situation strikes a blow at masculine dominance. Man, with a trad-

26. Adapted from Pruette, L., "Women in Leisure" in "Jobs and Marriage", p. 16-17.

27. Littell, J., "Meditations of a Wage-earning Wife", The Atlantic Monthly, 134: 734. Dec. 1924.

less than grammar school.....8 per cent
 Grammar school.....47 per cent
 Two or more years of high school.....38 per cent
 College.....11 per cent

The results indicated that the more liberal were those who had more education.²⁶

Advantages to the Husband of Preserving of the Wife's Interests

If the man belongs to the group believing in the wisdom of his wife's working he may appreciate that there are distinct advantages to be gained through the preserving of the woman's interests, so that she becomes a better companion for him. There is usually greater similarity in interests at the same time. Jane Lattell says,

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ition of being the family provider, naturally finds the process of relinquishing his position of power and prestige painful. He is sensitive to the criticism of his neighbors, implied or expressed, that his wife must help financially, although this attitude seems to be rapidly disappearing in the younger generation, especially in the professional class.

The husband may experience hurt pride or jealousy if the wife is more successful financially at an outside job than he is. Persistent irritation and inner protest may undermine his happiness if he is unadaptable and not alive to his wife's point of view. It has been stated that here appears the inferiority feeling which some insist is characteristic of men in their thinking of themselves in comparison with women. The true value of the husband is shown up in direct contrast to the superior ability of the wife. This condition is of course true in only some cases, however. The following case shows inferiority in a husband.

The Story of Martha

Martha came from Nova Scotia at the age of sixteen and entered private service as a maid. She did laundry work, in the main, and some cooking for twenty years ~~until~~ her marriage at thirty-six to Jim. She had two children, a girl, May, and a boy, Carl. For the first ten years after her marriage Martha stayed at home. At first she "nearly went crazy" with little to do but cook, clean, sew, and just sit around, for her education

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was not sufficient to enable her to read with any real pleasure, so her resources for entertainment were decidedly limited, although she is rather bright mentally.

When May was $8\frac{1}{2}$ and Carl 5 years old the little boy was stricken with diphtheria and died within a week. Following this Martha resumed her work in private families because Jim was "loafing". Did her husband resent her working? "No, he didn't care, and he never asked me what I did with the money either." Fortunately, her mother lived with the family, kept house, and cared for little May. Jim would scrub the floors occasionally and help a bit at home, but his financial contributions seem to have been rather sporadic. It later developed that Jim had cancer, of which he finally died, so that ill-health must have been the reason back of some of his apparent laziness. About the same time Martha also lost her mother.

Martha worked in a laundry as an ironer for seven years after Jim's death. The work was hard, the hours long, and the pay poor, the "boss" swore at the women and docked their pay freely for small errors, but the job was all Martha could get at the time. She finally secured a position with better pay as cook and general maid in a family.

May, by this time, was about sixteen, fairly attractive, mature, interested in boys, but not willing to remain in school, for her I.Q. was so low that she could not succeed in the required academic work which was all that was offered

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in the school. She could not find a job, so she just stayed at home while her mother was away all day. Not long after this Martha discovered that May was pregnant. The man involved refused to marry May, but after threats and stormy scenes followed by court hearings he finally agreed, and they were married a month before the baby was born.

In trying to learn Martha's reactions to her own working it was difficult to get clearly formulated opinions and self-analysis. In the main she felt married women should not work because they kept the jobs from single women. In her case she had to work, so this justified her doing so. She kept intending to "quit" from week to week, but she never did. She did not care especially about being with people, she said, yet her love of gossip belies this statement. She feels that many working women neglect their homes and their children. She does not think that May suffered in any way from her being away so much because her mother was in the home. Of course the factors involved in May's "getting into trouble" included more than lack of a mother's presence in the home. The girl was obviously emotionally unstable, and mentally dull, as well as being poorly disciplined and spoiled. In one breath Martha said she "couldn't see how May could have done it when she was always preaching at her", the next that she guessed "the kid was left alone a lot". It seems plain that a combination of poor parental control and

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methods of discipline, idleness, weakness, and ready opportunity were the contributing factors in this moral lapse plus a pleasure-seeking, thoughtless man's indulgence.

On the whole Martha says she thinks she has been happier working out, especially as she formed the habit so early that it seems so natural to her that she would not know what to do with her spare time without her double duties. This simple philosophy seems to be somewhat characteristic of the viewpoint of the married woman who is employed in unskilled labor.

Lack of Personal Services on the Part of the Wife

It has also been brought out in some articles that the husband may suffer inconveniences in lack of personal service if his wife works. Such an argument does not bear the weight it formerly did, for there is no great benefit to the husband in having his wife darn his socks and sew on his buttons unless she can perform this service more efficiently than can a paid assistant. With the present lack of adequate preparation for marriage and housekeeping, the modern wife is frequently relatively inefficient at such forms of labor. Even in the matter of cooking the husband may suffer more from poorly planned and cooked meals at home than he would if he ate at a good restaurant or boarding-house. Of course, other less obvious values enter into this question which may prejudice the argument

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for or against the wife's domestic services.

Let us see what Katherine Angell, Editor of The New Yorker, has to say about this question.

"And where does a wife who works fail her husband? Certainly she has not enough time free to perform small personal services for him. She must entrust to a mere servant this matter of holes in the socks (and such a husband has to put up with the annoyance of finding a button neglected occasionally). With us, on the evenings we do not go out to dinner or have guests, I often must work on manuscripts in order to have the free daytime hours I have described as stolen from the office for the children. But my husband often brings work home, and neither of us finds that working side by side is any less companionable than reading our separate novels, or even than playing bridge together.

"Of course, for the husband of a wife with a gainful occupation there are the pulls of custom, the habits of his class, to overcome. He must of necessity compare himself to the man who has a woman to back him up, to hold up his hands at every turn; to the man whose wife is free to grease every wheel and organize his life so that he has the greatest possible number of hours free from domestic care of any sort in which to devote himself to the achievement of a successful career. It may be that famous careers are often so made, but they are more apt to be careers than lives. Such a man, we think in our family, does not necessarily have the largest or most rewarding life. To a certain group of people it might seem, too, that a professional woman would fail in her social duties to her family by not being free to pursue the daytime social activities that are supposed to lead to contacts valuable from the angle of business or delightful from the angle of friendship and happiness. I do not agree to this premise because children whose parents are active and occupied will have all the friends and 'contacts' they need in life.

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deeply into all their activities, open themselves to the danger of being too much wedded to their work. A certain masculine detachment is a virtue much to be sought." 28

This article brings out forcefully the greater significance of the non-material phases of family life. Companionship as worth more than personal service is stressed. Proper balance with a wise sense of values must be substituted for foolish devotion expressed in terms of unending services of a physical nature.

Loss of Ambition

A further argument encountered against a wife's gainful employment is that it causes the husband to lose his ambition. It is said to weaken his character. He may be tempted to depend upon his wife's efforts and shirk his own responsibilities. This tendency to accept help complacently would hardly seem to be characteristic of the majority of American men, regardless of what contributions the wife makes in the home or outside.

The Child

Advantages to the Child

What are the advantages to the child of the mother's employment? The prevention of over-protection or a mother-fixation is mentioned by psychologists as an outstanding one. Too much devotion to the child is said to have a smothering effect upon the healthy development of his independence. With such pampering ~~treatment proper psychological weaning does not readily take place~~

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at the usual time. The mother may continue to make decisions which the child should make for himself as he grows older. Oftentimes normal hetero-sexual friendships, are prevented or hindered by the too-loving parent. Such a condition may be a menace to the mental hygiene of the child, a state which usually does not occur if the mother's time and attention are not given exclusively to her offspring.

Scientific Care

The scientific care which a child may receive today in a nursery school or day nursery may also be distinctly advantageous, in contrast to the possibly unscientific and untelligent care received in some homes. The amaternal mother has no real interest in the upbringing of her children in all its trifling yet important details, although she is usually anxious that the right results be obtained in character and personality development. She may recognize and utilize the superior training offered by the professional, which, at the same time, frees her for more stimulating and pleasing labors.

Disadvantages to the Child

The disadvantages, in the case of young children, so often outweigh the advantages that many women, who do not have to work, yet who wish to, give up ten to twenty years exclusively for the upbringing of their children, and later re-enter outside employment when their children no longer need them.

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Inadequate Care

Especially in the homes of the poor the out-working of the mother results in inadequate care of the children and disorder in the home. Over-fatigue of the mother is observed with a consequent lowering of standards of cleanliness and order. Discipline may be poor; the mother cross and irritable. The children may be on the streets with bad companionship and lack of supervision. Juvenile delinquency does not always follow with the children of working mothers, but this lack of a mother in the home has been a condition observed by Dr. William A. Healy of the Judge Baker Foundation, in seventeen per cent of delinquents studied.²⁹ The fact that children do not know their mothers and feel their influence and guidance is an important factor in such cases.

The following true story points out some of the difficulties in this kind of home situation.

The Story of Mary

To be married to a longshoreman who does not work steadily and drinks whenever he does earn some money is the lot of Mary who has five children to support. Fortunately, now the older children help financially, but for years Mary kept the family together by her singlehanded efforts. She started to work outside the home when the children ranged from 14 years to 20 months, doing cleaning and washing for private families. Later she worked in a restaurant scrubbing floors. The older children cared for

29. Wile, I., "As Children See It", Survey Graphic, December, 1926, p. 313.

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the younger ones, got their own breakfasts and dinners, and prepared themselves for school. Mary's work was usually from 8:30 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. She then hurried home, cooked the supper for the family, and did the necessary cleaning, sewing, and the like after this.

Such strenuous work, with no cooperation from her husband, proved extremely fatiguing, and she felt discouraged most of the time, particularly as she realized that the children needed closer control than she could exercise. They are all good-looking youngsters with rather an unusual degree of energy and personality, so that it is not strange that they have been frequently involved in a variety of scrapes and mischief, oftentimes as the ring-leaders. More recently the older girls have had flirtations with men in a casual way, this leading, for the oldest girl, to a forced marriage with a baby coming soon afterwards.

In spite of the poor example of the father and the long daily absences from the home of the mother, this family is distinctly a unit; the children are well-mannered and fairly dependable, leading one to wonder if, in spite of their handicaps, they have not gained something in solidarity and poise through their early responsibilities. Mary has succeeded quite well in filling a double role in the home and outside, but she wishes that she might have spent more time with her children. Curiously enough this undependable husband, who has never contributed his share to the family support, objects to his wife's working,

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on the usual grounds of traditional attitude of his friends and neighbors of criticism.

It is plain in this case that for a time while the children were young the situation was too much for the mother and the home was in constant disorder. This condition may be bad for the children because of the resentment felt in such home conditions resulting sometimes in the building up of a defensive attitude toward the world. These children may feel that they do not have the same attention or companionship from their mothers that other children have. Such a lack is not so often felt by children of more intelligent working mothers who manage to make their brief hours at home count doubly in spiritual values to their families.

The danger of children's becoming artificially institutionalized is also pointed out by some writers. They suggest that the home with its intimate contacts is very necessary to the physical and spiritual well-being of the child.

Child-bearing

It is commonly assumed that the employment of married women outside the home tends to decrease child-bearing. The reason is found in the obvious handicap placed upon these women in their occupations. So far there is little reliable statistical evidence to prove the assumption that there are fewer children in such families. Arthur Calhoun gives as his opinion that access to industry means for women an emancipation from economic dependence

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upon the man which brings increased freedom in the bearing of children, and that children tend to be an embarrassment and, as such, are, if possible, avoided.³⁰ There is some evidence which points toward decreased fertility in employed women and increased use of methods of birth control. Certainly the biological handicap of child-bearing and the conflict between having a child and a vocation are very real problems.

Infant Mortality

Although higher rates of infant mortality have been observed in lower class homes with working mothers, Groves points out that this is not because the mothers work, but because the children are neglected as a consequence of low standards of home care.³¹ Cause and effect cannot well be separated, they are so closely tied up and interrelated.

Marriage and the Home

It is interesting to note that the modern emancipation of women is said to have brought with it a definite selective influence upon marriage. Man, the conservative, hesitates to select for his wife a woman of too great independence and self-reliance. She is not so appealing to his affections as is the less progressive and efficient young woman.

Financial Advantage

The financial advantage of two wage-earners in a home

30. Calhoun, A., "The American Family", Vol. III, p. 250-2.

31. Groves, E.R., "Social Problems of the Family", p. 72-3.

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50. Calhoun, A., "The American Family", Vol. III, p. 250-2.
51. Gross, E.R., "Social Problems of the Family", p. 73-2.

is indisputable, but there are numerous arguments against this practice on the basis that it lowers the prevailing wage scale. The fault here lies with our present economic system, which practically forces this measure upon families. In some cases the wife's salary makes possible for the husband a change of vocation with subsequent benefit to the family otherwise denied them.

Problems in Adjustment, Financial and Psychological

An anonymous article in the Woman's Home Companion is worth quoting for its picture of some of the difficulties of a double wage in a family. The chief difficulties encountered were not of not having enough money, but of how it should be spent. Delicate adjustments in habits and attitudes were necessary to the success of this experiment.

Problem of Double Income

"Now this is not to be a confession of abject failure. I don't want to delude any reader for an instant with the hope that I am now sitting solitarily at a shiny rolltop desk, lamenting a Jerry lost, a happiness lost through my insistence upon my right to an occupation outside my home. Neither do I want to delude anyone with the hope of finding me every afternoon beside a neatly laid tea table, hating it because it isn't a typewriter and looking with hatred upon a white-capped maid because she isn't a bobbed-haired stenographer. No, we have pulled it off with fair success, Jerry and I, but there have been times when it has seemed that we weren't going to pull it off.

"Unexpectedly enough it was that double income of which even our old-fashioned relatives had approved, that became our chief difficulty. If the economic dependence of women bred tyrants on the one hand and cowards

is indisputable, but there are numerous arguments against this practice on the basis that it lowers the prevailing wage scale. The fault here lies with our present economic system, which practically forces this measure upon families. In some cases the wife's salary makes possible for the husband a change of vocation with subsequent benefit to the family otherwise denied them.

Problems in Adjustment, Financial and Psychological

An anonymous article in the Woman's Home Companion is worth quoting for its picture of some of the difficulties of a double wage in a family. The chief difficulties encountered were not of not having enough money, but of how it should be spent. Delicate adjustments in habits and attitudes were necessary to the success of this experiment.

Problem of Double Income

"Now this is not to be a confession of abject failure. I don't want to delude any reader for an instant with the hope that I am now sitting solitarily at a shiny rotary desk, lamenting a lousy loss, a happiness lost through my insistence upon my right to an occupation outside my home. Neither do I want to delude anyone with the hope of finding me every afternoon beside a neatly laid tea table, hating it because it isn't a typewriter and looking with hatred upon a white-capped maid because she isn't a bobbed-haired stenographer. No, we have pulled it off with fair success, Jerry and I, but there have been times when it has seemed that we weren't going to pull it off."

"Unexpectedly enough it was that double income of which even our old-fashioned relatives had approved, that became our chief difficulty. If the economic dependence of women bred tyrants on the one hand and cowards

on the other, the economic independence of women has its own dangers. Two people, each accustomed to earning his own living, to spending his own income, have a good deal of adjusting to do before they learn how to merge two incomes into one, and until that lesson is learned they founder in a financial morass.

"Now for reasons deep-rooted in his masculine tradition, I suppose, Jerry wished that his four thousand plus should be used for running expenses and that my twenty-five hundred should be put into the investment fund, the health emergency, and my own dress fund. He didn't, somehow, want to touch my money. But it caused a serious difference between us when he learned one day that I had impulsively interpreted 'health emergency' so as to buy a second-hand car, a bargain, at three hundred and fifty dollars. (It was really a bargain!) And I found that my inner response to his angry 'Have you any idea what the upkeep of that infernal thing will be?' was an equally angry, 'It's my money; I earned it; I can do what I please with it.'

"There were a dozen such incidents of varying degrees of expensiveness but of uniform sort in the first three or four years of our marriage. And always that ugly thought framed itself in my mind: 'It's my money; I earned it; I can do what I please with it.' Thank heaven I never uttered the ungracious words aloud. But Jerry did not need to have things shouted at him. I am sure that he said those words himself, though with a different emphasis: 'It's her money; she earned it; she ought to be able to do what she pleases with it.' My expenditures were not patently selfish. I did not buy extravagant clothes for myself--indeed, I often borrowed from my dress allowance to make some purchase for the house--the old andirons to which I succumbed at an auction; some glazed chintzes; or to pay for our symphony seats or for some English tweeds I had had sent in for Jerry. But I constantly disarranged the budget, and the result was that we squabbled, hurt each other, and burned with a rankling sense of injustice.

"It was partly our 'niceness' that made the trouble. We didn't like to discuss the sordid matter of money. Jerry, for all his conscientious modernness about my work, was old-fashioned when it came to maintaining his home--perhaps that is why I think almost all fine men are so in the depths of their hearts! The instinct was strong to be what his father had been--sole provider for it. He could not bring himself to say to me, as he would have said to a

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"It was partly our 'niceness' that made the trouble. We didn't like to discuss the sordid matter of money. Jerry, for all his conscientious modernness about my work, was old-fashioned when it came to maintaining his home--perhaps that is why I think almost all time men are so in the depths of their hearts! The instinct was strong to be what his father had been--sole provider for it. He could not bring himself to say to me, as he would have said to a

brother with whom he was keeping house, or any man friend: 'See here, you're holding out on me. You can't go off buying rugs until you've paid your share of the kitchen ceiling. Shell out.' It took us several years to reach that stage of frankness, to learn, in short, that we had to merge our two incomes into one, that we had to have a single direction for our spending.

"By a single direction I do not mean, of course, the arbitrary, undisputed will of one individual. I mean a conscious singleness of aim reached by an honest, joint survey of needs--the singleness of aim which results from an intelligent committee meeting, for example.

"Of course, we had to make scores of other adjustments besides the financial ones. For example, we wanted a home--a home together. We wanted two jobs apart in the world outside, but we wanted a home together.

"We proceeded to the making of one. We found the sort of apartment we wanted--comfortable rooms, large and sunny, with an old-fashioned fireplace or two, with a pleasant outlook upon a city park and a satisfying proximity to the baker and the candlemaker. And there was actually within easy reach a day nursery established by a woman doctor for the babies of well-to-do professional mothers.

"At first we had a simply wonderful time buying, installing, arranging. Jerry seemed as keen about it all as I, as busy, as resourceful. He listened entranced to my inspiration for doing over my bedroom furniture in robin's egg blue enamel. And he put up extra kitchen shelves where Mrs. Maguire, our incredibly neat, competent, amiable cook-housekeeper, wished them.

"But Jerry's home-making ardor cooled before mine. When the place was rather delightfully livable, he settled down to live in it. I still worked at it, experimented--a picture on that wall or a rug? The rug facing the fireplace or at right angles with it? A silk shade or a parchment for the study lamp? Jerry came gradually to grunt his answers when I plied him with such questions. And I resented it, resented it two or three times as much as the indoor, home-her-only-job wife would have done. For I was as tired as Jerry, although all those ancestresses of mine who couldn't rest until their houses satisfied them wouldn't let me rest, and I said to myself things like this:

'It's his home as much as it is mine, and he might take

brother with whom he was keeping house, or any man friend:
'See here, you're holding out on me. You can't do it.
I'm going to stay here until you've paid your share of the kitchen
rent. I'll be here for a week or two, in short, that we had
that stage of friendship, so I said, in short, that we had to have a
single dinner for our wedding.

"By a single dinner I do not mean, of course, that
arbitrary, unthoughtful will of one individual. I mean a
conscious attempt of his to be honest, to be
true to his conscience, the conscience of his which results from
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for I was as tired as Jerry, although all these experiences
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'It's his house as much as it is mine, and he might take

an interest in it. I am quite as fatigued as he is. Chasing down the deserting father of the Cammatini family is harder work, if you come to that, than lunching with Monsieur Edouardes and outlining the kind of article you'd like to have him do. And I'd enjoy reading 'Punch' as much as he does, if I didn't know that we ought to settle about the linoleum tonight.'

"The little foxes that spoil the grapes!

"I didn't tell my husband how I felt about his indifference concerning the linoleum. I caught at a subterfuge and scolded violently about his not having told the little tailor at the corner to call for his evening clothes to be pressed. 'You promised, I can't attend to everything,' I stormed. 'They've got to be done for tomorrow night. It's a shame--I simply can't be your valet as well as your housekeeper and interior decorator.

"But we had a quarrel based upon man's age-long expectation that his wife will attend to domestic detail and upon a working wife's sense of the unfairness of any such burden.

"There are, roughly speaking, one billion grounds in the ordinary domestic routine for this sort of disagreement. Who is to stay at home to receive the plumber and explain about the ice-box leak? Not the Jerrys, I assure you! Who is to telephone the laundry about the missing collars? Again, not the Jerrys! Who, when the incomparable Mrs. Maguires rush off at an hour's notice for their sick daughters' bedsides, is to slam down the desk lid two hours before office closing time and hurry home to oversee two strange maids preparing for a dinner party? Never the Jerrys." 32

Common Interests

A further advantage concerns the holding together of the family through common interests and problems with husband and wife both working. Divorce is discouraged because of the fresh interests of the wife with its resultant contentment. Even where domestic incompatibility is present, the home may be preserved because life is made endurable for the

32. "We Both Had Jobs", by a Wage-earning Wife, Woman's Home Companion, August, 1925, p. 4.

an interest in it. I am quite as fatigued as he is. Chasing down the twisting lanes of the Gassendi family is harder work, if you come to that, than lunching with Monsieur Bismarck and outlining the kind of article you'd like to have him do. And I'd enjoy reading 'Punch' as much as he does, if I didn't know that we ought to settle about the Lincoln tonight.

"The little foxes that spoil the grapes!"

"I didn't tell my husband how I felt about his indifference concerning the Lincoln. I caught at a subtle-tyo and decided violently about his not having told the little fellow at the corner to call for his evening ofches to be pressed. 'You promised, I can't attend to everything,' I retorted. 'They've got to be done for tomorrow night.' It's a shame--I simply can't be your valet as well as your housekeeper and interior decorator."

"But we had a quarrel based upon man's ego-ism--expectation that his wife will attend to domestic detail and upon a woman's sense of the unfairness of any such burden."

"There are, possibly speaking, one billion grounds in the ordinary domestic routine for this sort of disagree-ment. Who is to stay at home to receive the plumber and explain about the sink-box leak? Not the Jerry, I assure you! Who is to telephone the laundry about the missing collar? Again, not the Jerry! Who, when the incoor-porated Mrs. Maudslayi wash off at an hour's notice for their sick daughter's bedtime, is to slam down the desk lid two hours before office closing time and hurry home to oversee two straggly white trousers for a dinner party? Never the Jerry." 32

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wife thereby. On the other hand, the same factor may tend to pull the family apart through too great interests outside the home on the part of the wife or mother or conflict of vocational interests. There may be neglect **of household duties or children** because of lack of interest or fatigue of the woman who has **double** duties to perform. This failure to create a desirable home atmosphere is serious for the family welfare.

The Older Married Woman

There seems to be rather general agreement that outside employment for older women, if at all possible, is worthwhile in its value to the family. After the children have grown up, there is little left for the modern woman to do in the home, for she no longer brings up her grand-children as she did formerly. She is inclined to deteriorate and become a parasite, with damage to family morale, unless she finds new interests and enthusiasms in some occupation. Such stimulating occupation is usually found more readily in outside employment.

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CHAPTER VIII

Probable Future OutlookAlternatives to Present Usual PracticesThe Part-time Job and the Sweat Shop

The part-time job is at present the solution to the vexing question of marriage and a career for some women. The difficulty is that of women's finding such an opening, for part-time jobs are not common. Some sociologists believe that the creation of many such positions would prove to be a blessing to many harassed wives, providing opportunity for gainful occupation plus time for care of home and children. Such a future development is problematical as it depends upon the needs of industry. If employers find that they can more profitably employ workers on part-time they will do so. There seems to be a swing in that direction during the present depression with the effort to make a limited amount of work go around among too many workers. However, this swing is against the employment of two members of the same family, so it will doubtless not help married women especially to obtain part-time work. It is far easier, with many types of piece-work, to resort to sweat shop labor. This practice is controlled theoretically by law, but enforcement is difficult with bootlegging of garments taking place by trucks to and from industrial centers. Mushroom sweat shops have sprung up in discarded factories, which either employ women workers under unsanitary conditions on the spot or give out work to take home.^{32a}

32a. Goldmark, J. "The New Menace in Industry", Scribner's Magazine, Mar., 1933, p. 141-3.

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The sweat shop has been one solution, and not a wise one, for numerous mothers of young children. It is to be hoped that it will not gain a foot-hold in its unregulated form, as it is tending to do during the present economic depression. One great weakness of this form of earning is its likelihood of employing child labor. Another danger is in the lowering of the wage scale as a result of the availability of cheap home labor.

The Family Allowance

There are economists who advocate some form of family allowance as offering to the family an alternative to double employment which might decrease the numbers of married women working outside their homes. Such an allowance would be based on the number of children in the family. It is aimed to provide for children in the future by the payment to the mother of a set sum monthly for each child. Such a scheme could not be made a burden upon industry or it would defeat its own purpose. This difficulty may be avoided by state taxation or some other similar method. The scheme is in operation in several countries, and seems to promise good results. Provision can be made, by this means, for a fairer distribution of wages to relieve strain on families with children. Many opponents of the family wage system claim it would lower the wages of the single man as well as cause an increase in population, but these beliefs are not justified, according to observers of the

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practical use of the plan, as the rise in the standard of living naturally sets into play forces tending to limit births. How unbiased these observations are is difficult to tell.

Maternity Insurance and Mothers' Pensions

Another suggested plan is family or mother's insurance, a scheme of social insurance safeguarding the family much as does life insurance. Such a form of maternity protection is in use extensively in Europe under government control, and consists of payments to the mother at the time of and following the birth of a child. A similar plan might be worked out as a private commercial enterprise advantageously, some sociologists think, but the venture has not yet been attempted to the writer's knowledge.

Mothers' pensions are given to the mother in the event of the death or disability of the husband. As such they are largely a relief measure, and so not found in the normal family.³³

New Social Attitude Toward the Problem

Economic Needs of Industry

It is of course impossible to foresee the possible changes which may take place in industry even in the near future. But, assuming that the capitalistic order survives, it is probably safe to say that the economic needs of industry will, to a large extent, determine the future employment of married women. If they

33. Coyle, G., "Jobs and Marriage", p. 76.

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Material, Intellectual, and Moral Education

Another suggestion is the idea of mother's instruction, a scheme of social insurance covering the family such as does life insurance. Such a form of maternity protection is in use extensively in Europe under government control, and consists of payments to the mother at the time of and following the birth of a child. A similar plan might be worked out as a private commercial enterprise advantageously, some sociologists think, but the venture has not yet been attempted to the writer's knowledge.

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It is of course impossible to foresee the possible changes which may take place in industry even in the near future. But, assuming that the capitalist order survives, it is probably safe to say that the economic needs of industry will, to a large extent, determine the future employment of married women. If they

are profitable they will be employed, if their services prove to be more of a liability than an asset they will be dropped.

Higher Wage Scale

A higher wage for the husband would preclude the necessity for many wives' working. At present, though, no real raises in wages are apparent regardless of who works. Some think such a result would follow the exclusion of married women from competition with men in industry and business. In fact, the argument is frequently put forth that it is not fair for married women to take the jobs away from men and single women. Probably one reason why this group of married women workers continues to hold their ground in industry is that their wages are lower than men's, but the same is also true in general of unmarried women and the economic necessity is about equally great for both groups. The problem is one of an adequate wage for family maintenance for the husband if wives are not to help out.

An interesting quotation is the following:--

"For the wage-earning groups prosperity, even at the advertising point, meant that in December 1927, President Coolidge and Mr. Hoover pointed proudly to the fact that the average industrial wage was \$4 a day. If work was steady, that meant \$1200 a year; and at the time this boast was made, another branch of the government estimated that it cost well over \$2000 a year to maintain a family of five merely in health and decency. Supposing the family to be four instead of five, that still leaves a gap to be filled by the contribution of wife or children.

Herein one succinct explanation of the 10,000,000 American women gainfully employed." 34

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Of course such a statement is not proof of the necessity of the wife's working, for it is merely theory versus fact which does not take into account varying standards of living.

Social Needs of the Family

The greatest social need of the family of the future is a radical change in its spirit and attitude. Paul Poponoe, writer on family problems, says the family will be marked by 1) better mate selection 2) greater understanding 3) more intelligent understanding of the child 4) greater concern for individual development especially of women 5) more democracy 6) fuller biological differentiation of function. We shall have cooperation not in production, as in the past, but cooperation for the benefit of the child. Scientific knowledge will help man to develop a better race and deepen family bonds.³⁵ If the employment of the wife seems necessary or wise it will be sanctioned by society as a normal procedure.

Human Needs of the Individual

The above six points of Poponoe's apply equally well to the human needs of the individual. The recognition of individual differences is imperative in so far as it provides for the satisfactory mental adjustment of the members of the family group. The married woman should have the needed emotional outlets, either in the home or outside, which she finds helpful for herself and her family. The difficulty is greatest for the wife in making

35. Poponoe, P., "The Conservation of the Family", p. 253-4.

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a choice between outside or home employment because the field is still so unexplored and experimental in its resultant effects upon all concerned. Lorine Pruette expresses this conflict of desires ably in the following quotation:--

"Sometimes wives are jealous of their husband's work. Probably even more often are husbands jealous of their wives' work. But there is no real conflict for the man. It is settled in his mind that his work is important and must take precedence. But nothing is settled in the woman's mind. She is having to work out new ways of living, about which there are still many disputes. She has not the readymade justifications of the man. Not until her life is lived will she know if her choices have been the best she could have made in each situation. Suppose that while she is pursuing a career one of her children dies. There will be neighbors glad to say that this was due to her neglect, and she, in the first wrenching agony of her loss, may fear that what they say is true. Or suppose that her husband develops an incurable disease, will she not wonder, through many a darkened night, whether this could have been avoided if she had only been a wife with nothing else to think of but her husband's health and happiness? The modern woman has too many roles to play, and she aspires to play them all with equal skill. It is difficult, at times, for her to remain convinced that the only role which the self-respecting individual can consistently maintain is not that of wife, mother, daughter, sister, but the characterization of herself. She has been too long, through the centuries, a creature whose life was bounded and determined by sex for her to be quite confident yet that she is finally and most importantly a human being and an individual entity. She cannot be a whole person if she hearkens too much to the claims of others that she should be a part of them. She cannot run very fast in the race that is still to the swift if she must carry the burden of a husband's jealousy of her work." 36

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CHAPTER IX

ConclusionEffect of the Employment of Married Women Outside the HomeThe Home Itself

The employment of married women outside the home is found to be a rather wide-spread practice, inasmuch as it is based upon economic necessity. That the married woman is in industry with all evidences pointing toward her remaining there is an essential factor to be appreciated. The change is not in the fact of women's working, but rather that their efforts have gone outside the home.

"The new element in the status of American women is not that they must work but that the work which will bring an economic return generally must be done away from homes and their children. In addition to a day spent in factory or office, most of them are still carrying many of the old tasks associated with women's work--cooking, washing, sweeping, mending, for themselves and often for husbands and children as well. What this means in strain and worry is hard to overestimate. The Industrial Revolution transferred the work of men from the farm or the home workshop to the factory, and, by and large, it limited rather than increased the responsibility and planning demanded of the individual worker. As its wheels have become increasingly powerful and all-embracing, in this country most children and some women have been exempted from the need to produce wealth--but for the remainder of the women, the anonymous millions who appear as mere units in these Census figures, the old lot of work has become increasingly complicated." 37

Trends in the Home

It is thus seen that this added burden imposed upon many women, even though labor saving devices help enormously, must affect the home. In general, greater intelligence is needed to plan and execute a program so complex and various as

37. Ross, M., "Woman's Coming of Age", p. 537-8.

one of homemaking and outside employment today. The proper upbringing of children is in itself an art and a science requiring much time and effort for best results. This new condition has come about because of the emancipation of women as a result of modern science with its inventions and newer knowledges, its increased leisure and greater material comforts. The effect upon the home is to bring about, in a short time, radical changes in sanctioned customs and behavior. Although the tendency is toward disintegration in many respects, there appears to be, at the same time, a very real psychological gain in the recognition of woman's right to individuality and social equality. The small family by choice is striking evidence of this recognition.

Dr. James S. Plant, Director of the Essex County Juvenile Clinic, at Newark, New Jersey, maintains that "it is conceivable that while the decentralization of the family reduces the temporal contact of the parent with the child, there will be a net gain in throwing upon other agencies a task which they may possibly perform better than the family." 38

Educational and recreational organizations such as the best nursery schools, day nurseries, kindergartens, camps, and playgrounds may bring so much of real worth to the child that he can hardly afford to miss these privileges which may be dependent upon his mother's being away from home during the day. It is unfortunate that all children whose mothers go out to work do not have equal opportunity for this type of scientific care and

38. Plant, J. S., "The Child as a Member of the Family", *Annals of The American Academy*, March 1932, p. 71.

one of home-making and outside employment today. The proper upbringing of children is itself an art and a science requiring much time and effort for best results. This new position has come about because of the emancipation of women as a result of modern science with its inventions and newer knowledge, its increased leisure and greater material comforts. The effort upon the home is to bring about, in a short time, radical changes in associated customs and behavior. Although the tendency is toward disintegration in many respects, there appears to be, at the same time, a very real psychological gain in the recognition of women's right to individuality and social equality. The small family by choice is striking evidence of this recognition.

Dr. James E. Flinn, Director of the Essex County Juvenile Clinic, at Newark, New Jersey, maintains that "it is reasonable that while the decentralization of the family reduces the temporal control of the parent over the child, there will be a net gain in throwing upon other agencies a task which they may possibly perform better than the family." 38

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38. Flinn, J. E., "The Child as a Member of the Family", *Annals of the American Academy*, March 1932, p. 11.

training which would enrich their social experiences greatly.

Again it is well to remember the psychological advantages to the child--as well as the disadvantages--of less mothering and more institutionalizing, for this factor determines the mental outlook of the child to a great extent.

The Present and Future Social Order

The working of married women outside of the home has affected the traditional family tremendously and consequently the whole social order. The change in the family of the future may be toward a group of interacting individuals rather than a producing unit as in the past. The economic independence of women is perhaps less demoralizing to society than was the old order in which marriage meant complete dependence for women with its spiritual degradation.

There must necessarily be modification of home-making activities and an equitable division of labor, if women are to continue in their outside activities. The recognition of the differing biological function of the sexes is also essential, with provision for child-bearing without economic handicap as an important asset to women's welfare.

A decent living wage for the majority of families should be provided even if both the mother and father work. Education for marriage and parenthood is felt by many to be vital to the best functioning of the family in society. Research should determine the wisest procedure for the good of the family, in

experiments which would make their social experiments fruitful. Again it is well to remember the psychological advantages to the child--as well as the disadvantages--of having mother and more intellectualizing, for this factor determines the mental outlook of the child to a great extent.

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There must necessarily be realization of house-making activities and an equitable division of labor, if women are to continue in their outside activities. The recognition of the different biological functions of the sexes is also essential, with provision for child-bearing without economic handicap as an important asset to women's welfare.

A decent living wage for the majority of families should be provided even if both the mother and father work. Education for marriage and parenthood is felt by many to be vital to the best functioning of the family in society. Research should determine the exact programs for the good of the family, in

order that we may have conscious control rather than wasteful social experiments. But there can be no doubt that the cultivation of responsible participation in the activities of the home, its duties and its pleasures, by all members of the family will help to develop finer personalities and better citizens, as well as to lighten the load of the working mother.

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